

## THE JEWS IN WORLD HISTORY ACCORDING TO HUGH OF ST. VICTOR\*

REBECCA MOORE

U. of North Dakota

Hugh of St. Victor (d. 1141), an Augustinian canon who taught at the Abbey of St. Victor in Paris during the first half of the twelfth century, has long been recognized for his appreciation of history.<sup>1</sup> Sir Richard Southern went so far as to disavow his earlier contempt for Hugh and to praise him as a fellow historian before members of Britain's Royal Historical Society.<sup>2</sup> Others have also noted Hugh's interest in history.<sup>3</sup> With the exception of Grover Zinn, however, few have examined how Hugh treats the Jews in his historical writings.<sup>4</sup>

This neglect is unfortunate since Hugh places the Jews of the bible on the main stage of history. While Jews drop out of history with the advent of Christ, Christians also fade from view after the incarnation because contemporary history is irrelevant. As far as the Victorine is concerned, history is primarily biblical history.<sup>5</sup> The study of history therefore requires proper exegesis of the bible, to which Hugh devotes a number of treatises. Because

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<sup>1</sup> For biographical information, and conflicting accounts of Hugh's origins, see Jerome Taylor, *The Origin and Early Life of Hugh of St. Victor: An Evaluation of the Tradition* (Notre Dame IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1957); F.E. Croydon, "Notes on the Life of Hugh of St. Victor," *Journal of Theological Studies* 40 (1939): 232-253; and Roger Baron, "Notes biographiques sur Hugues de Saint-Victor," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 51 (1956): 920-934.

<sup>2</sup> R.W. Southern, "Presidential Address: Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing: 2. Hugh of St. Victor and the Idea of Historical Development," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 21 (1971): 149-179.

<sup>3</sup> M.-D. Chenu, *La théologie au douzième siècle* (Paris: Vrin, 1957), 62-89; Henri Cloes, "La systématisation théologique pendant la première moitié du XII siècle," *Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses* 34 (1958): 277-329; and Grover A. Zinn, Jr., "Historia fundamentum est. The role of history in the contemplative life according to Hugh of St. Victor," in *Contemporary reflections on the medieval Christian tradition. Essays in honor of Ray C. Petry*, ed. George H. Shriver (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1974), 135-158.

<sup>4</sup> Grover A. Zinn, Jr., "History and Contemplation. The Dimensions of the Restoration of Man in Two Treatises on the Ark of Noah by Hugh of St. Victor," Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1968.

<sup>5</sup> Thus, the school of German Victorine scholars who see Hugh as a kind of prototypical German historian wrapped up in contemporary issues of church and state, seems predicated

the history of the people of God is so central for Hugh he even departs from the medieval practice of marking biblical history with four world empires, and instead introduces a new division of time: four Jewish successions comprised of patriarchs, judges, kings and high priests. His lack of interest in current events also means that Hugh fails to write narratives about princes and popes, as do many monks of his day. He certainly ignores a pressing ecclesiastical issue, the resolution of the investiture controversy with the Concordat of Worms (1122). As M.-D. Chenu observes, "he did not interest himself at all in the historical development of the church or of dogma."<sup>6</sup>

But Hugh does allude to another contemporary issue: the crusades. In a striking image, Hugh allies pagans and Jews with Christians in a single army united against a common enemy, the devil. He transforms Augustine's two opposing cities—the earthly city and the city of God—into two armies, or two families, in which Jews and Christians live and work together.

In short, Hugh of St. Victor presents a positive view of the role Jews play in the history of the people of God. Hugh retains a supersessionist belief that Jewish practices no longer serve, and that Christianity fulfills the promises of Judaism. But his silence about contemporary Jews and his failure to blame them for their troubles, coupled with his emphasis on their important role in the bible, may be his way of combatting the tide of Jew-hatred which is washing over Christians in his era.

### *Christian Histories*

The monastic environment proved fertile ground for the creation of a variety of histories. Daily readings of the bible and of the lives of the saints, observances of feast days and holy days in accordance with the liturgical calendar, the gossip which provided entertainment in the cloisters, and the patronage of kings and nobles all served to focus attention on days, times, years, and the events which marked them.<sup>7</sup> Monks and canons concentrated

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upon a chimera. These include: Joachim Ehlers, *Hugo von St. Viktor: Studien zum Geschichtsdenken und zur Geschichtsschreibung des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Steiner Verlag, 1973); Friedrich Merzbacher, "Recht und Gewaltenlehre bei Hugo von St. Victor," in *Recht—Staat—Kirche: Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, ed. Gerhard Köbler, Hubert Drüppel, and Dietmar Willoweit (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1989), 207-234; and W.A. Schneider, *Geschichte und Geschichtsphilosophie bei Hugo von St. Victor. Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Münster: Verlage der Universitäts, 1933).

<sup>6</sup> Chenu, 69. English translation from *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, ed. and trans. Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 173-174.

<sup>7</sup> Jean Leclercq, *L'amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu. Initiation aux auteurs monastiques du moyen âge* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1957); Donald Maddox, "The Semiosis of *Assimilatio* in Medieval Models of Time," *Style* 20,2 (1986): 252-271; Ray C. Petry, "Three Medieval Chroniclers:

on history more than any other writers, "and sometimes they were almost the only ones to do so," according to Jean Leclercq.<sup>8</sup> While Hugh was not a monk, it is clear that his life as a canon regular at St. Victor was similarly regulated by religious observance and enriched by the visits of travelers passing through Paris.<sup>9</sup>

The historians writing in the cloisters and the schools drew upon a long tradition of Christian writers, beginning with Sextus Julius Africanus (c. 160-c. 240) who wrote the first chronology which tried to harmonize biblical and classical history.<sup>10</sup> The marriage of church and empire in the fourth century encouraged Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 260-c. 339) to see God's providence at work in that union. His *Historia ecclesiastica* weaves the story of Constantine into the very fabric of Christian history. At the same time, Eusebius explains that the many calamities facing the Jews stem from their responsibility for Christ's death.<sup>11</sup> In an earlier *Chronicle* Eusebius tries to demonstrate the antiquity of Hebrew culture and tradition, from which Christianity is descended, over the Assyrian, Sicyonian and Egyptian empires. Eusebius remains critical of the Jews, however, in spite of the superiority of ancient Hebrew tradition.<sup>12</sup> His multi-column tables of names and dates were translated from Greek into Latin and updated by Jerome (c. 345-419/420).<sup>13</sup> Hugh seems to especially look to Eusebius' *Chronicle* for his account of biblical history after the Exile.

A pessimistic and critical view of world history arose which challenged Eusebius' bouyant optimism, and served as an influential counter-weight. Augustine of Hippo (354-430) rejected Eusebian historiography in *De civitate*

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Monastic Historiography and Biblical Eschatology in Hugh of St. Victor, Otto of Freising, and Odericus Vitalis," *Church History* 34,3 (1965): 282-293; and David Staines, "The Holistic Vision of Hugh of Saint Victor," in *Centre and Labyrinth: Essays in Honour of Northrop Frye*, ed. Eleanor Cook et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 147-161.

<sup>8</sup> Leclercq, 148. English translation, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, trans. Catharine Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961), 190.

<sup>9</sup> Luc Jocqué, "Les structures de la population claustrale dans l'ordre de Saint-Victor au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Un essai d'analyse du *Liber ordinis*," in *L'abbaye parisienne de Saint-Victor au moyen âge. Communications présentées au XIII<sup>e</sup> Colloque d'humanisme médiéval de Paris (1986-1988)* (Paris: Brepols, 1991), 53-95.

<sup>10</sup> Martin J. Routh, ed., "Julius Africanus chronologus," in *Reliquiae sacrae, sive, auctorum fere jam perditorum: secundi tertique saeculi post christum natum quae supersunt*, 2d ed., vol. 2 (Oxford: University Press, 1846), 238-309; and in *Patrologia Graeca* (henceforth PG) 10.63-94.

<sup>11</sup> *Historia ecclesiastica* I.1.2, II.5.6-8 and II.23. In general, Books I and II of the history are full of accusations against the Jews. Eduard Schwartz and Theodor Mommsen, eds., *Die Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 2 of *Eusebius Werke* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908), 6-7, 118-119, 164-175; PG 20.50A, 150B, 195C-206B.

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, his comments on the fall of Jerusalem. *Eusebius Werke*, vol. 7, 187; PG 19.546.

<sup>13</sup> Rudolf Helm, ed., *Die Chronik des Hieronymus. Hieronymi Chronicon*, 3d ed., vol. 7 of *Eusebius Werke* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1984): in PG 19.99-598 as *Chronicorum libri duo*.

*Dei contra paganos* (*The City of God Against the Pagans*) by arguing that what happened on earth, in the earthly city, had nothing to do with what transpired in heaven, the city of God.<sup>14</sup> If it did, then one might well witness God's fortunes rise and fall with the fortunes of Christianity, and Augustine did not want to admit this.<sup>15</sup> Augustine saw the advent of Christ as the turning point in all history. Thus, while the biblical history of Jews was significant, their subsequent history, and all history for that matter, ended with the incarnation. Hugh absorbed Augustine's vision of the two cities into his theological and historical writings, and also presented a christocentric history significantly indebted to Augustine.

Subsequent Christian historians mixed and modified the Eusebian and Augustinian historiographies. Some presented a universal history, that is, the history of the entire world from creation to the present.<sup>16</sup> Others wrote local histories, either of monasteries, towns, principalities or regions. Hugh did not share the interest in post-biblical history which some of his twelfth-century contemporaries had, however. Instead, he turned to two chroniclers for an understanding of history itself and for a biblical chronology. Hugh thus was indebted to Paulus Orosius (c. 390-after 418), for example, not for the mysterious historian's bleak and critical picture of the Jews, but rather for his geography and his understanding of what comprises history.<sup>17</sup> Hugh draws upon the Venerable Bede's (c. 672/673-c. 735) *Chronica Maiora*, which begins with Book LXVI of *De temporum ratione*, and imitates the English writer's preference for dating events based on the vulgate, or *Hebraica veritas* rather than on the Septuagint (LXX).<sup>18</sup> Bede's work presents a fairly straightforward

<sup>14</sup> *De civitate Dei*, ed. Bernard Dombart and Alphonse Kalb, 4th ed., *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*, vols. 47-48 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1955). Citations from Chadwyck-Healey's *Patrologia Latina Database*, based on the first edition of Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, will be indicated by PLD, and thus, PLD 41.13-804.

<sup>15</sup> Theodor E. Mommsen, "St. Augustine and the Christian Idea of Progress: The Background of *The City of God*," in *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, ed. Eugene F. Rice, Jr. (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1959), 265-298.

<sup>16</sup> Karl Heinrich Krüger, *Die Universalchroniken* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976), 13. Krüger looks at the different types of world chronicles which developed in late antiquity and continued to be written and developed in the middle ages. Krüger depends in part upon Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, "Die lateinische Weltchronistik," in *Mensch und Weltgeschichte: Zur Geschichte der Universalgeschichtsschreibung*, ed. Alexander Randa (Munich: Anton Pustet, 1969), 43-86. See also *idem*, *Studien zur lateinischen Weltchronistik bis in das Zeitalter Ottos von Freising* (Düsseldorf: Michael Triltsch Verlag, 1957), with the caveat that von den Brincken misidentifies Hugh as author of Richard of St. Victor's *Exceptionem allegoricarum*, and has only limited knowledge of the *Chronicon*.

<sup>17</sup> Like Eusebius, Orosius claims that the disasters which befell the Jews resulted from their persecution of Christ, in *Historiarum adversus paganos libri septem*, ed. Marie-Pierre Arnaud-Lindet, 3 vols. (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1990-1991), VII 4.16, 5.5-10, 9.1-14, for just a few examples. Arnaud-Lindet, III.25, 27, 37-41; PLD 31.1069B, 1070B-1071B, 1083A-1085B.

<sup>18</sup> Theodor Mommsen, ed., *De temporum ratione*, in *Chronica Minora. Saec. IV. V. VI. VII. Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, vol. XIII of *Auctorum Antiquissimorum* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1898),

epitome of events in both biblical and secular world history, with little editorializing about either Jews or pagans. Hugh relies most heavily on this work and the chronology of Eusebius/Jerome for his own historical chronology.

In all of these histories the story of the Jewish people ends more or less with the incarnation, as it does in Hugh's writings. Thus, Jeremy Cohen's claim that medieval Christians approached Judaism "as a theological artifact, a faith that had long become obsolete, and not as a living and dynamic tradition," would appear to apply justly to Hugh.<sup>19</sup> But Hugh is more complicated than that, and Cohen's understanding of medieval Christianity is not entirely apt when applied to Hugh of St. Victor. It is therefore necessary to understand Hugh's theology of history, and the role the bible plays in his theology, before examining his treatment of the Jews.

### *History is the Starting Point*

History is fundamental, states the *Didascalicon*, Hugh's manual which offers students guidance on how and what to read.<sup>20</sup> It is the starting point for the study of sacred doctrine, which is contained in scripture.<sup>21</sup> But more than that, it is the foundation of all study. What is history? It is the recounting of deeds done, as well as the first, or literal meaning of a text.<sup>22</sup> History is thus a list of names, dates and places—what was seen and what was remembered, as the *Didascalicon*, the *Chronicon*, and *De scripturis et scriptoribus sacris* (*On Sacred Scripture and its Authors*) all indicate.<sup>23</sup>

Hugh's theology of history focuses on two works of God. The work of creation (*opus conditionis*) was made for humans, whom God loved and from whom God wanted love in return. The sin of Adam and Eve destroyed our

223-333; PLD 90.520C-578D. Bede's use of the Vulgate and Josephus indicates that "he thus adopts to a certain extent a principle of modern historical research, in preferring primary sources to derived ones," according to Wilhelm Levison, "Bede as Historian," in *Bede. His Life, Times, and Writings. Essays in Commemoration of the Twelfth Centenary of his Death*, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson (New York: Russell and Russell, 1966), 111-151.

<sup>19</sup> Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1982), 22.

<sup>20</sup> *Didascalicon* VI.3 (henceforth *Did.*), in *Hugonis de Sancto Victore. Didascalicon: De Studio Legendi. A Critical Text*, ed. C.H. Buttner (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1939), 116. English translations come from Jerome Taylor, ed. and trans., *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor: A Medieval Guide to the Arts* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1961), 138. PLD 176.801C.

<sup>21</sup> *Did.* VI.3; Buttner, 113-114; PLD 176.799B-C.

<sup>22</sup> *Did.* VI.3; Buttner 115-116; PLD 176.801A.

<sup>23</sup> *Did.* VI.3; Buttner, 113-114; PLD 176.799C; *De scripturis et scriptoribus sacris* (henceforth *De scripturis*) XVI; PLD 175.23B-24A; and William M. Green, "Hugo of St. Victor *De tribus maximis circumstantiis gestorum*," *Speculum* 18 (1943): 484-493 (henceforth Green, *Chronicon*).

original perfection, however, and resulted in three vices: weakness, ignorance, and concupiscence.<sup>24</sup> Since the world had been created for humanity, however, God could not let the situation remain unresolved. God therefore initiated a second activity, the work of restoration (*opus restaurationis*), by which humans could return to their original perfection, i.e. the likeness of God.<sup>25</sup> "The work of restoration is the Incarnation of the Word with all its sacraments," writes Hugh, "both those which have gone before from the beginning of time, and those which come after, even to the end of the world."<sup>26</sup>

Hugh's sacraments of restoration include practices of both the natural law—tithes, oblations and sacrifices—and the written law—circumcision and the Mosaic law—as well as those typically considered to be Christian sacraments, such as baptism and eucharist. God never left humanity on its own or without the means of restoration. At the same time, Hugh sees God and history as progressing, with the new replacing or superseding the old. In other words, while the sacraments of the written law, that is, the practices of the Jews, are appropriate and efficacious in their own time period, after the incarnation they lose their potency.<sup>27</sup>

In spite of Hugh's supersessionist theology, he offers a striking image of Jewish and Christian unity—on Christian terms, of course. He divides humanity into two families: the family of Christ and the family of the Devil.<sup>28</sup> These two families are armed with sacraments for the eschatological battle.<sup>29</sup> The

<sup>24</sup> *De sacramentis christianae fidei* (*Sacraments of the Christian Faith*, henceforth *De sacr.*) I.7.XXXI-XXXII; PLD 176.301B-302C.

<sup>25</sup> The dyad of creation-restoration appears in a number of Hugh's works: *De sacr.* Prologue I.II-III, I.10.V, II.I.I; PLD 176.183A-184C, 334B, 371C; *De scripturis* II; PLD 175.11A-D; *De arca Noe morali* IV.3; PLD 176.667A-668C; *De vanitate mundi* II; PLD 176.716B-C; *Sententiae de divinitate* II Prologus, in "Ugo di San Vittore 'auctor' delle 'Sententiae de divinitate,'" ed. Ambrogio Piazzoni, *Studi Medievali* 3d series, 23,2 (1982): 861-955, here 920.233-921.290 (henceforth Piazzoni, *Sententiae*); Green, *Chronicon*, 485, 491-492; and *Commentariorum in Hierarchiam Coelestem S. Dionysii Areopagitae* I.1, I.2; PLD 175.926D, 927C-930B. *Conditio* and *restauratio* also appear in the tables which follow the Prologue to the *Chronicon*, for example, Paris BN lat. 15009 fol. 3v. An early work by Hugh, *De sacramentis legis naturalis* lists many works of God, but neither limits them to two nor identifies them as *conditionis* or *restauratoris*.

<sup>26</sup> "Opus restaurationis est incarnatio Verbi cum omnibus sacramentis suis; sive iis quae praecesserunt ab initio saeculi, sive iis quae subsequuntur usque ad finem mundi." *De sacr.* Prologue I.II; PLD 176.183B. English translation by Roy J. Deferrari, *Hugh of Saint Victor on the sacraments of the Christian Faith* (*De Sacramentis*) (Cambridge MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1951) (henceforth Deferrari), 3.

<sup>27</sup> *De sacr.* I.11.I; PLD 176.343B-C; and *De sacr. legis* PLD 176.35A.

<sup>28</sup> *De sacr.* Prologue I.II, I.8.XI, II.17.IV; PLD 176.183B-D, 312B-C, 598A; *De sacr. legis* PLD 176.29A, 31C-32D, 33A-D, 35B-C. In *De vanitate* IV; PLD 176.735BC, Hugh describes an army of Christ comprised of Christian martyrs and saints.

<sup>29</sup> *De sacr.* I.9.VIII, I.10.IX; PLD 176.328B, 343A-344A; *De sacr. legis* PLD 176.31D-32A, 33D, 40B-C; *De vanitate* IV; PLD 176.735B-C. Hugh uses two families, or armies, rather than relying strictly upon Augustine's two cities because he can then use "sacrament" in its military sense. Thomas McGonigle, "Hugh of St. Victor's Understanding of the Relationship

family of Christ includes those marching before the king, and those following. In other words, righteous Jews and pagans make up the army before the time of Christ, while Christians follow. Although they all bear different banners and arms, they remain a single army under the leadership of a single king. "Whether, therefore, preceding or following, bearing the sacraments of the one king, they serve the one king and conquer the one tyrant, one group preceding Him who was to come, the other following Him preceding."<sup>30</sup>

Scripture contains the story of the army of the King. Since the Bible outlines God's sacramental restoration throughout time it becomes the history book *par excellence* for Hugh. This explains Hugh's great interest in exegesis.<sup>31</sup> His discussions of the three-fold method of biblical interpretation, and his emphasis on the historical sense over the allegorical and the moral senses, have this goal in mind.<sup>32</sup> Hugh does not disdain profane history or secular learning; on the contrary, he sees them as the necessary preparation for the study of scripture. But ultimately Hugh has no interest in secular history because, like Augustine, he does not see in it an account of the workings of God. He concentrates instead on the history which leads to the incarnation, namely the Bible, and only occasionally shows an interest in post-biblical Christian or secular history. For these reasons, the history of post-biblical Jews and Christians is not important to Hugh. The only historical events worth learning about appear in the account of restoration contained in the Bible.

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Between the Sacramental and Contemplative Dimensions of Christian Life," Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1976. Hugh's use of the word *sacramentum* differs from *De sacr. legis* to *De sacr.*, according to Ferdinand Cavallera, "Les De Sacramentis d'Hugues de Saint-Victor; rapports du Dialogue [*De sacr. legis*] et du Traité" *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 41 (1940): 207-210. He says that *De sacr.* plays down the military aspect of the sacraments and emphasizes their purpose as medicine instead.

<sup>30</sup> "Sive igitur praecedentes sive subsequentes, unius regis sacramenta portantes, uni regi militantes, et unum tyrannum superantes; illi venturum praecedentes, isti praecedentem subsequentes." *De sacr.* I.8.XI; Deferrari, 149; PLD 176.312D. Augustine felt that Jews were retarding the march of humanity toward the City of God. Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Juifs et chrétiens: patristique et moyen âge* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977), 231.

<sup>31</sup> For more on Hugh's method of interpretation and medieval biblical interpretation in general, see the landmark work by Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (1952; reprint, Notre Dame IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964). Herman Hailperin discusses Hugh's debt to Jewish exegesis in *Rashi and the Christian Scholars* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1963), 105-111. For a view which challenges Smalley and Hailperin, see Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: Les quatre sens l'écriture*, 2 vols. (Paris: Aubier, 1959-1964), II.1, 287-359.

<sup>32</sup> Hugh addresses the three senses of scripture in *De scripturis* III-IV; PLD 175.11D-13A; *De sacr.* Prologue I.IV; PLD 176.184C-185A; and *Did.* V.2 and VI.3, 4, 5; Buttner, 95-96, 113-123; PLD 176.789B-790B, 799B-805C.

*The Jews in Hugh's Account of Restoration History*

While many of Hugh's works illuminate his understanding of restoration history and how the Jews fit into it, four treatises deal specifically with Jewish history, that is, the biblical story of the Hebrews. Two of the treatises, *De arca Noe mystica* (*On the Mystical Ark of Noah*) and *De vanitate mundi* (*On the Vanity of the World*), come from Hugh's trilogy of writings on Noah's ark.<sup>33</sup> *De scripturis* is a work which provides an approach to the study of the bible, and which presents a detailed history of the Maccabean revolt. The *Chronicon* is a handbook for students needing a Who's Who to guide them in their study of the Bible. It begins with a prologue which presents Hugh's rationale for studying history, and is followed by an extensive list of tables of names, places and dates to be memorized. All four works were probably written before 1130.<sup>34</sup> I will consider the four works in the following order: *De scripturis*, *De arca mystica*, *De vanitate*, and the *Chronicon*.<sup>35</sup>

1. *De scripturis et scriptoribus sacris praenotatiunculae*

The *Little Notes on Sacred Scripture and its Authors*, is a short work of eighteen chapters in which Hugh discusses how scripture is to be understood, of what

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<sup>33</sup> The first work of the trilogy is *De arca Noe morali* (*On the Moral Ark of Noah*) a work which introduces the idea that history has a relationship to the contemplative life. Although *De vanitate* does not share the ark titles, it refers to *De arca mystica*, and continues the themes introduced in the other two. It is identified as Ark Treatise Number Three in *Hugh of Saint-Victor. Selected Spiritual Writings*, trans. A Religious of C.S.V.M., intro. Aclred Squire, (London: Faber and Faber, 1962). Patrice Sicard calls the moral ark treatise *De archa Noe pro archa sapientie cum archa Ecclesie et archa matris gratie*, and the mystical ark treatise *Libellus de formatione arche* in a critical edition due from *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*.

<sup>34</sup> Because *De arca Noe mystica* and *De vanitate mundi* contain a list of popes, and since *De arca Noe morali* precedes both, Damien van den Eynde dates the three works before 1130, in *Essai sur la succession et la date des écrits de Hugues de Saint-Victor* (Rome: Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum, 1960), 69-73, 80-83, 88-90. Grover Zinn puts all three treatises in the vicinity of 1130, "History and Contemplation," 36. An analysis of the contents of the works indicates that the moral ark treatise precedes *De scripturis* while the mystical ark follows it, according to van den Eynde, 71-73, 78-79. In addition, van den Eynde, 90-92, and Green, *Chronicon*, 484, place the *Chronicon* also around 1130; Zinn puts it earlier, at about 1125, in "The Influence of Hugh of St. Victor's *Chronicon* on the *Abbreviationes Chroniconum* by Ralph of Diceto," *Speculum* 52 (1977): 38-61, here 42, FN 24.

<sup>35</sup> Although van den Eynde puts *De scripturis* after *De arca morali* and before *De arca mystica*, I will consider it first in order to keep *De arca mystica* and *De vanitate* together. Zinn dates the *Chronicon* rather early, but I think that *De scripturis* precedes it. Patrick Gautier Dalché notes that the Prologue to Hugh's *Chronicon* adapts Orosius' three-fold consideration of history, in "L'espace de l'histoire: Le rôle de la géographie dans les chroniques universelles," in *L'historiographie médiévale en Europe*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1991), 287-300, here 288-289. Orosius states that the study of history includes not only deeds and times, but also places ("non solum rerum ac temporum sed etiam locarum"), *Historia* I.1.17; Arnaud-Lindet, I.12; PLD 31.672A. In the *Chronicon* Hugh changes deeds (rerum) to persons, as his title indicates, "De tribus maximis circumstantiis gestorum id est personis



the canon consists, the superiority of the original Hebrew over subsequent Greek and Latin translations, and other issues designed to prepare students for reading the Bible. In chapter seventeen Hugh turns to "The subject matter of Sacred Scripture."<sup>36</sup> Just as he asserts that the work of restoration is the incarnate Word and all its sacraments, so also is the subject matter of divine scripture: the incarnate Word with all its sacraments, from those preceding from the beginning of the world to those to come up to the end of the world.

Hugh then divides time in a number of ways. First, there are two states, the old and the new. There are three times, that of the natural law, the written law, and the time of grace. There are six ages, which Hugh divides (1) from Adam to Noah; (2) from Noah to Abraham; (3) from Abraham to David; (4) from David to the Babylonian Exile; (5) and from the Exile to the advent of Christ. Before turning to the sixth age, Hugh subdivides the five preceding ages, that is, from Adam to Christ, into four successions. The first succession is of the patriarchs, from Adam to Moses; the second is of the judges, from Moses to David; third come the kings, from David to Exile; and the final succession is of Jewish high priests, from Exile to the Incarnation.<sup>37</sup>

Only after he presents all the divisions does Hugh explain why he does this. The old and new states refer to human existence before and after the resurrection of Christ. The old state is one of sin and punishment, while the new state refers to the renewal of human life through the grace of Christ. The time of the natural law occurred when humanity was left to its natural senses and lacked any universal precept for living. The time of the written law refers to the period in which the people of God received precepts for living justly. Finally, the time of grace is so-called because Christ gave the grace necessary for implementing what the law prescribed. These three times appear throughout Hugh's writings because they indicate the progressive nature of God's work of restoration.<sup>38</sup> This triad is not original to Hugh, but comes from Augustine, and originally, Paul.<sup>39</sup>

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locis temporibus." Green, *Chronicon*, 488.2-4. But in *De scripturis*, Hugh adopts Orosius' model virtually unchanged. Hugh covers the significance of places, times, and deeds in Chapter XVI which is titled "De locis, temporibus, ac gestis mysticis sacrae Scripturae." *De scripturis* XVI; PLD 175.23B-24A. This makes me wonder if it is not earlier than the *Chronicon*. Furthermore, *De scripturis* raises the question as to whether or not the *Chronicon* is a work of history or a treatise on memory, as Zinn argues in "Hugh of Saint Victor and the Art of Memory," *Viator* 5 (1974): 211-234.

<sup>36</sup> The citations which follow come from *De scripturis* XVII; PLD 175.24A-D.

<sup>37</sup> For Hugh's subdivisions of time, *De scripturis* XVII; PLD 175.24B-C.

<sup>38</sup> *De sacr.* I.8.III, XI, I.10.VI, I.11, I.12, II.2.I; PLD 176.307CD, 312D, 339B-C, 343B-348C, 347C-364A, 415B-D; *De arca morali* I.IV, IV.IX; PLD 176.630A, 679A-B; *De arca mystica* V and VI; PLD 176.689BC, 691C-D; *De vanitate* II; PLD 176.717AB. *De sacr. legis* PLD 176.32AB, 37C-39C; *De scripturis* XVII; PLD 175.24B-D; Piazzoni, *Sententiae*, 924.398-926.446.

<sup>39</sup> Paul divides history into the time before the law, under the law, and under grace (Romans 5-7). See also Augustine, *Enchiridion ad Laurentium de fide et spe et caritate*, ed. E. Evans, *Corpus*

The six ages of the world correspond to the six ages of a person in *De scripturis*. These were so well known in Hugh's day that he merely writes "infant, boy, etc."<sup>40</sup> The complete list is: infancy, childhood, youth, adulthood, old age, senility.<sup>41</sup> Elsewhere in Hugh the six ages relate to the six days of Creation.<sup>42</sup> While others include Moses in the six-age division, Hugh copies Augustine in excluding him, although he highlights Moses in the four Jewish successions.<sup>43</sup> Hugh seems to find the six ages motif useful in identifying epochs in his more historical works, but he does not appear to employ it in his theology of history.<sup>44</sup> The three times move forward progressively, culminating in the time of grace, whereas the six ages focus on biblical history, and decline into the present age.

The list of the four Jewish successions is unique to Hugh. It represents a departure from many Christian histories, where secular rulers were highlighted instead. In *De scripturis* Hugh speculates that the succession of patriarchs is so named because that was when fathers alone ruled over their sons. He then offers the alternative that it might refer to the time when families were denoted by the names of their fathers, for example, from Edom, Edomites, from Levi, the Levites, and so on. He notes that the time of judges began with Moses, who first ruled over the whole people of Israel, not just over his own sons.<sup>45</sup>

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*Christianorum, Series Latina*, vol. 56 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969) CXVIII, 112.40; PLD 40.287. To *ante legem*, *sub lege* and *sub gratia*, Augustine adds a fourth period, *in pace*. The three Pauline times also appear in the Letter of Barnabas, which, following Jewish tradition that the world would last 6000 years, followed by a 1000-year sabbath, divides time into 2000 years without Torah, 2000 years with the lordship of Torah, and 2000 years of the Messiah. Roderich Schmidt, "Aetates mundi. Die Weltalter als Gliederungsprinzip für Geschichte," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 67 (1955-1956): 288-317, here 299. For Jewish tradition see also Joachim Ehlers, "Historia, allegoria, tropologia—Exegetische Grundlagen der Geschichtskonzeption Hugos von St. Viktor," *Mittelaltinisches Jahrbuch* 7, ed. Karl Langosch (Ratingen: A. Henn Verlag, 1972): 153-160, esp. 159. A seven-age cycle appears in the Talmud, b. Sanhedrin 97a.

<sup>40</sup> "Aetates dicuntur sex ad similitudinem aetatis hominum. Fuit enim mundus et infans et puer, etc." *De scripturis* XVII; PLD 175.24C.

<sup>41</sup> The six ages of life = six ages of the world appear in *De scripturis* XVII; PLD 175.24B-D; *De arca mystica* IV; PLD 176.687D-688A; and in *Miscellanea* LXXXII; PLD 177.517C-518A.

<sup>42</sup> The six ages of the world = six days of creation appears in *De sacr.* Prologue I,II, I.I.XXVIII; PLD 176.184A, 204A; Piazzoni, *Sententiae*, II Prologus, 920.245-247; *De arca morali* IV.V; PLD 176.672AB; *De arca mystica* XV; PLD 176.702B; and Green, *Chronicon*, 491.34-45.

<sup>43</sup> See for example *De diversis quaestionibus* 58.2; PLD 40.43; and *De civitate Dei* 22.30; Dombart and Kalb, II.865-866; PLD 41.804. For Augustine's use of the six world ages see William Green, "Augustine on the Teaching of History," *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 12 (May 1944): 315-332. Other theologians marked the six ages differently. For example, the chronology from Eusebius/Jerome goes from 1) Adam to the flood; 2) the flood to Abraham; 3) Abraham to Moses; 4) Moses to the First Temple; 5) First Temple to the Second Temple; 6) Second Temple to the advent of Christ. The present age is therefore the seventh, rather than the sixth in this scheme. Schmidt, 304-305.

<sup>44</sup> Staines, 152-153, on Hugh's preference for the Pauline scheme.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi. Etymologiarum sive Originum. Libri XX*, ed. W.M. Lindsay,

Hugh returns to the four Jewish successions in *De vanitate* and in the *Chronicon*, where it is most clearly elaborated.<sup>46</sup> Grover Zinn writes that perhaps "Hugh meant to allow Hebrew history leading up to the Incarnation to unfold according to an inner logic of its own, based on a development of communal leadership and organization."<sup>47</sup> It is more likely, however, that Hugh was just trying to get Jewish leadership straight so that the biblical history would be understood correctly. Chapter eighteen of *De scripturis*, which addresses the difficulties of scripture, tends to support this. There are many complications associated with reading scripture, according to Hugh. He notes, for example, the problem of identifying Nebuchadnezzar, for in some accounts he rules in Ninevah and in others, Babylon. "We are certainly surprised by the many lies contained in numerous books of scriptures," he observes. "Nevertheless the careful reader ought not to be affected by this fact because there is something to comprehend, to have approached by means of sincerity, even in a situation where he does not grasp it in its entirety."<sup>48</sup> He goes on to note that one must know the succession of kings of Syria and Egypt in order to understand the book of Daniel. "You will not easily distinguish such alterations unless you first know their deeds," Hugh warns.<sup>49</sup>

Hugh then goes to some lengths to explain the history of the Maccabees, discussing the Seleucid rulers and the Jewish high priests.<sup>50</sup> It seems probable that Hugh's concern with the succession of Jewish high priests relates to his effort to clarify the history of the Maccabees, the crucial period in restoration history immediately prior to the coming of Christ. He concludes by discussing the succession of Roman rulers in Palestine during the first century. He also tries to make clear the distinction between the three Herods.<sup>51</sup>

Throughout his discussion in the final two chapters of *De scripturis* it is evident that Hugh wants to clarify names, dates, and rulers, pointing out where there may be similar names referring to more than one person. While

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2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), *Lib.* VII.VII.1-3; PLD 82.281B-C for definitions of the word *patriarcha*.

<sup>46</sup> Richard of St. Victor borrows Hugh's listing of four successions in *Liber exceptionum*, ed. Jean Châtillon (Paris: Vrin, 1958) I.IV.1-13; Châtillon, 129-141; PLD 177.215C-226C.

<sup>47</sup> Grover Zinn, "Influence," 47. Zinn criticizes Joachim Ehlers' study of Hugh for its failure to take the importance of the four-fold division of time into account. See Ehlers, *Hugo von St. Victor*, especially Chapter Seven.

<sup>48</sup> "Verum in numeris multa mendacia scriptorum libris inesse deprehendimur, tamen in ejusmodi studiosus lector moveri non debet, quia aliquid est, veritati appropinquasse, illic etiam ubi non contingit in toto illam comprehendere." *De scripturis* XVIII; PLD 175.25C.

<sup>49</sup> "Quas vicissitudines, nisi prius eorum gestis cognitis, non facile discernes." *De scripturis* XVIII; PLD 175.25D. Most Christian writers included the four world empires described in Daniel 7—Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Macedonian, and Roman—in their histories.

<sup>50</sup> He uses the names provided by Eusebius, who was relying on the Jewish historian Josephus.

<sup>51</sup> *De scripturis* XVIII; PLD 175.26B-28D. See also Richard of St. Victor, *Liber exceptionum* I.IV.13; Châtillon, 140-141; PLD 177.225B-226C.

he may be indicating a respect for Jewish history in his listing of the four successions, it seems more likely that he wants to get the successions straight in order to properly understand the history of God's saving restoration.

## 2. *The Ark Treatises*

According to Grover Zinn, the central problem which the ark treatises address is the relationship between the mutable and the temporal with the immutable and eternal.<sup>52</sup> Hugh solves the problem by making history the locus of interaction between the eternal and the temporal. He sees history as a continuum in which God has always been and will always be involved, from creation to consummation. Although the Incarnation marks the shift from the second to the third time period, and from the fifth to the sixth age, the sacrament of the Incarnation also existed from the beginning.<sup>53</sup> The three treatises argue that contemplating God's work in history leads the believer out of the vanities of the world and into the divine life.<sup>54</sup>

*De arca morali* sets the stage by establishing the human condition of instability and restlessness, and by introducing the metaphor of the ark. It examines the meaning of the ark's dimensions, notes that its length of three hundred cubits extends over the three periods of the natural law, the written law and the time of grace. The height of thirty cubits denotes the thirty volumes of the Bible, the twenty-two books of the Old Testament and the eight of the New.<sup>55</sup> It is in the two subsequent works, however, that Hugh begins to deal with history in specific.<sup>56</sup>

### a. *De arca noe mystica*

*De arca mystica* describes in great detail what the ark actually looks like.<sup>57</sup> The ark itself is the church, that is, the people of God who have existed

<sup>52</sup> Zinn, "History and Contemplation," 231.

<sup>53</sup> Christ actually died from the very beginning in order to save the righteous ones who lived before his coming. *De arca morali* I.IV; PLD 176.630D-631A.

<sup>54</sup> For a complete discussion of these treatises, see Grover Zinn's dissertation.

<sup>55</sup> *De arca morali* I.IV; PLD 176.630A-B. The way Hugh comes up with eight books of the New Testament is to count four gospels, one set of Paul's letters, one set of the canonical epistles, and the Book of Revelation. *De scripturis* X; PLD 175.18B-C; *Did.* IV.6; Buttner 76-77; PLD 176.781B-C. The *Chronicon* also makes this division.

<sup>56</sup> Editors and translators have not been very interested in Hugh's historical writings. The English translation of the ark treatises omits the entirety of *De arca mystica*, and the last two books of *De vanitate*, which all provide concrete historical details. A similar omission occurs in Karl Müller's edition of *De vanitate*, which excludes the last two books because they have nothing instructive in them: "Ich habe diese beiden letzten Bücher nicht abdrucken lassen, weil sie nichts eigentümliches enthalten, das für Unterrichtszwecke lehrreich wäre." Karl Müller, ed. *Hugo von St. Victor. Soliloquium de Arrha Animae und De vanitate mundi* (Bonn: A. Marcus and E. Weber's Verlag, 1913), 51.

<sup>57</sup> For visual representations and descriptions of Hugh's ark diagram see Joachim Ehlers,

and will continue to exist throughout time. The people of God is not a vague metaphysical concept for Hugh; rather, he gives the names of both Jewish and Christian leaders, martyrs, and saints as members of the Ark of the Covenant. Jews, however, are not full-fledged members of the church. They are in the ark, but not of it.<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless, they cannot be jettisoned from the ark without causing structural damage; for better or worse, they are part of the ark, and in general Hugh seems to see Jewish participation as something good.

Of course, they are good by virtue of being the antecedents of Christ. Hugh lists the generations from Adam to Christ, conflating the genealogies in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke.<sup>59</sup> He does highlight the twelve patriarchs, calling them a kind of senate in the city of God, by describing a set of discs which feature their portraits. These discs are mirrored by a set featuring the twelve apostles.<sup>60</sup> Across the width of the ark Hugh subdivides time into six ages, and calculates the number of years each age lasts.<sup>61</sup> Along its length he divides time into the three ages. These correspond to his anthropology of three types of people.<sup>62</sup> The only Christians on the ark which Hugh notes after Peter are popes, which run in a list parallel to the Hebrew genealogy. And the only secular names provided comprise a list of Egyptian rulers.<sup>63</sup>

#### b. *De vanitate mundi*

The last treatise in the ark series, *De vanitate mundi*, finally gets down to some historical specifics.<sup>64</sup> In the first two books *Ratio* and *Anima* converse

<sup>58</sup> "Arca significat ecclesiam. Ein theologisches Weltmodell aus der ersten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 6 (1972): 171-187; Barbara Obrist, "Image et Prophétie au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Hugues de Saint-Victor et Joachim de Flore," *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 98,1 (1986): 35-63, here 35-49; and Grover Zinn, "History and Contemplation," Chapter Two.

<sup>59</sup> *De arca mystica* V; PLD 176.690D.

<sup>60</sup> *De arca mystica* IV; PLD 176.686A-D. For Hugh's adaptation of Matthew and Luke, see Zinn, "History and Contemplation," 143-144, FN 1.

<sup>61</sup> *De arca mystica* IV; PLD 176.686C-687B. The patriarchs indicate the descent of the people of the written law through the flesh, while the apostles show that the people of the new law, which is grace, are propagated spiritually through faith.

<sup>62</sup> *De arca mystica* IV; PLD 176.687D-688A. Relying on Bede's chronology, Hugh calculates 1656 years from Adam to the flood; 292 from the flood to Abraham; 942 from Abraham to David; 473 from David to the Exile; and 585 from the Exile to the advent of Christ (Bede has 589). We are now in the sixth age, one of decrepitude and uncertain length. Mommsen, *Chronica, Varia lectio ad annos mundi*, 328-333.

<sup>63</sup> *De arca mystica* V; PLD 176.688A-B. The time of the natural law runs from Adam to the patriarchs; the written law follows the patriarchs to the incarnation; the time of grace goes from the incarnation to the end of the world. The three types of people are those of the natural law, who are openly evil; those of the written law, who are only apparently good; and those of grace, who are truly good. *De arca mystica* IV; PLD 176.690C-D.

<sup>64</sup> *De arca mystica* XIV; PLD 176.700A-B.

<sup>65</sup> The following citations come from *De vanitate* III; PLD 176.721A-730A.

about the futility of human effort and the vanity of human activity in the first two books. Books three and four address the biblical history, beginning with Adam, from whom the generations of Cain and the generations of Seth sprang, the former signifying the vessel of wrath and the latter, the vessel of mercy. Hugh follows up the theme of human sin and evil begun with Cain's murder of Abel with the story of the sons of God and daughters of men (Genesis 6:1-4) by explaining that sinful people were begotten of this union. Noah's sons also represent the division of humanity into good and evil, or rather, blessed and damned. Hugh's dyad of good and evil generations echoes Augustine's division of humanity into the earthly city and the heavenly city of God.

While Hugh traces the generation of evil, he also follows the generation of righteous ones, beginning with Seth and Enos, who began to invoke the name of the Lord. He explains that at that time there arose a great Hebrew patriarch, Abraham, so that men of virtue would not be lacking, who left a good name and love for God to descendents so they would know who obeys God, since it is appropriate to pass over and to draw back from an evil generation. Abraham followed God's call because God had set aside the promised land from those of impiety from the beginning. Isaac came, and then Jacob, from whom the twelve tribes arose and the holy people Israel. Hugh praises the people of God, Israel, and notes that God set them aside from impious nations, so that they could increase. Great and powerful were the men of that age with whom God spoke his secrets. Hugh contrasts the holiness of the people of God with the evil of the great nations. He discusses the four empires of Assyria, Syconia, Scythia, and Egypt, and enumerates their sins. He concludes Book III with a long list of the abominations of Babylon.

Book IV of *De vanitate* begins with Moses in Egypt, who appeared on the scene because it was time for God to lead the people out of Egypt.<sup>65</sup> Hugh explains that the plagues were ways God demonstrated his omnipotence, and states that the miracles in the desert, by which God revealed himself, were designed to prepare the Israelites to receive the tablets of God's eternal ark of the covenant. Hugh passes over the incident of the Golden Calf in silence. He continues his account instead by noting that Moses died in peace, and by describing the division of the land among the twelve tribes by Joshua.

After his discussion of the judges, in which he praises Deborah and Samson, Hugh examines the kings, saying of the time of David that in those days the reign of the king of Israel was exalted, and that it added to the cultivation of holiness. He speaks highly of Solomon, of whom there was no one wiser. But Hugh points out in honesty that when Solomon became corrupt,

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<sup>65</sup> The following citations come from *De vanitate* IV; PLD 176.729A-740C.

God tore apart the kingdom in the hands of his sons, and the glory fell from Israel during Jeroboam's reign.

While Hugh does not explicitly state that he is analyzing Jewish history by four successions, this appears to be what he is doing in his account of patriarchs, judges, and kings. Before turning to high priests, however, he looks at the prophets. He notes the miracles performed by Elijah and Elisha, and discusses the words of consolation of Isaiah. But the prophets failed to turn the children of Israel from their vices, he remarks, even after Jeremiah came to warn them, so God sent the king of Babylon and exiled Judah from its land. The visions of Ezekiel and Daniel comforted the people in exile, however. After seventy years God finally returned his people to Jerusalem, and Ezra, Nehemiah, and Zerubabel rebuilt the temple and the city.

An account of high priests and Maccabees follows. Hugh discusses the wicked priest Jesus, also known as Jason, and the defenders of the "law of the Lord," Matthias and other men of virtue, who prevailed so that human sinfulness would not dominate forever. He calls the Maccabees—Judas, Jonathan and Simon—heroes, who courageously fought iniquity and brought about peace. But the children of collusion were unwilling to keep the covenant of the testament, and therefore rule was transferred to foreign seed, in Hugh's words.<sup>66</sup> Hugh does not blame the Jews as a people or as a whole for this, but rather limits culpability to a few evil men.

Hugh's discussion of the Jews stops at this point, since the biblical history stops as well. *Anima* speaks admiringly of the "magnificent things" which have been described, and asks what else occurred in the remaining time. *Ratio* provides an abbreviated history of the pagan empires: the Assyrians, Medes (including Persians, Chaldeans, Babylonians), Scythians, Macedonians, Egyptians, and finally the Romans.

Hugh presents the biblical history of Jews as a glorious one, full of mighty men and women who loved God. His tone and language are admiring, and he presents a number of heroes worthy of emulation. He makes it clear that Jesus did not usurp Jewish rule, but rather came during Roman rule. At the same time, he states that the Jews were elected as sorts of ministers through whom the salvation of all would come. Hugh almost skips over Jesus' death, noting it in connection with the selection of the twelve disciples who would carry on Jesus' work.<sup>67</sup> Hugh assigns no blame for Jesus' death, and even

<sup>66</sup> Here and in *De scripturis* Hugh makes it clear that Israel was ruled by a foreigner when Jesus came so that a prophecy would be fulfilled: the sceptre would not be in Judah when Christ came (Genesis 49:10). *De vanitate* IV; PLD 176.732C; *De scripturis* XVIII; PLD 175.26D. In his commentary on Genesis 49:10 Hugh adopts the Hebrew interpretation rather than the christological explanation. *Adnotationes elucidatoriae in Pentateuchon* VII; PLD 175.59B.

<sup>67</sup> "Et ut veritas ubique manifesta fieret, et nullum latere potuisset, qua via hominem ad vitam redire oporteat, elegit duodecim discipulos ut irent in mundum universum praedicare

when recounting the arrest of the apostles for healing and preaching in the temple (Acts 5:17-19) he blames "zealous enemies" (*hostes zelantes*) rather than Jews for ejecting them from the temple.

Hugh briefly recounts the history of the people of God after the incarnation. His discussion of martyrs, apologists and early theologians does not compare in length with the history of God's people before the incarnation. Hugh was not interested in post-biblical history with perhaps one major exception, the *Chronicon*.

### 3. *The Chronicon*

The *Chronicon* is Hugh's longest and most "historical" work of history.<sup>68</sup> Only a few articles have been written about it, but a critical edition is forthcoming.<sup>69</sup> Hugh sets forth his purpose in the Prologue: to provide a tool for learning the history of restoration in the Bible.<sup>70</sup> "Since we now have history at hand, it ought to be committed to memory as the first foundation

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Evangelium regni, et verbum vitae hominibus. Ipso autem completo mysterio, et mortem morte sua triumphans, cum reversus fuisset ab inferis spoliato tartaro, videntibus discipulis suis ad dexteram Patris aeterni perenniter victurus ascendit, mittens illos in mundum testifari resurrectioni vitae, et baptizare in remissionem peccatorum credentes in eum." *De vanitate* IV; PL.D 176.734D.

<sup>68</sup> While its authenticity was once questioned, proper attribution to Hugh is affirmed by van den Eynde, 90-92, and much earlier, by B. Hauréau, *Les oeuvres de Hugues de Saint-Victor. Essai critique*, New ed. (1886; reprint, Frankfurt-am-Main: Minerva, 1963), 185-191.

<sup>69</sup> I worked from Boulogne-sur-Mer MS 128 and Troyes MS 259, two twelfth-century manuscripts. Additional sources follow. Green, *Chronicon*, presents a critical edition of the Prologue (EN 23). Lars Boje Mortensen, "Hugh of St. Victor on Secular History. A preliminary edition of chapters from his *Chronica*," *Cahiers de l'Institut du moyen-âge grec et latin* 62 (1992): 3-30, provides a draft of a critical edition of Hugh's list of ancient empires, as well as lists of various German, French and Norman rulers. A table of popes paralleling Roman emperors appears in G. Waitz, "*Chronica quae dicitur Hugonis de Sancto Victore*," in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, vol. 24 of *Scriptorum*, 88-97 (1879; reprint, New York: Krause Reprint Corporation, 1964). Zinn, "Influence," (EN 34) briefly discusses Hugh's treatment of Jewish history. Roger Baron, "La Chronique de Hugues de Saint-Victor," *Studia Gratiana* 12 (1967): 165-179 notes that the history of the people of God is that of the Hebrews before Christ, and continues with the church after Christ, 178. Baron fails to note the four Hebrew successions in either his discussion of contents, 168-169, or his graph of the structure of the *Chronicon*, 180. He also confuses Hugh's list of geographical place names with a separate work, the *Mappa mundi*, here and in "Hugues de Saint-Victor lexicographe," *Cultura neolatina* 16 (1955): 109-145, here 137-145. The latter is useful, however, in that it provides a transcription of place names from one of the best of the *Chronicon*'s manuscripts, Paris BN lat. 15009. *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis* is preparing a critical edition of the *Chronicon* according to a footnote in *La "Descriptio mappe mundi" de Hugues de Saint-Victor*, ed. Patrick Gautier Dalché (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1988), 15, FN 12. Dalché is the one who points out Baron's misidentification of the *Mappa mundi*, 15, FN 11.

<sup>70</sup> Hugh's comment would tend to support Beryl Smalley's belief that the work is a teaching tool rather than a treatise on universal history, in *Historians in the Middle Ages* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974), 98. This is against Southern, 173, who states that the *Chronicon*



of all doctrine."<sup>71</sup> The three things that must be memorized first are the names of the people who did the deeds; the places where the deeds were done; and the times when the deeds occurred. He then provides a series of tables which provides these names, places and dates. Green divides the tables into eleven groups:<sup>72</sup>

- (1) creation;
- (2) restoration in six world ages and four Jewish successions according to the Hebrew truth;
- (3) kingdoms of the world;
- (4) creation and restoration according to the Septuagint (LXX);
- (5) miscellaneous lists of Hebrew names;
- (6) geographical names;
- (7) "The Three Sisters;"
- (8) tables of popes;
- (9) rulers since the time of Christ;
- (10) names of historiographers; and
- (11) a chronological table of popes and emperors from Jesus Christ to Honorius II.

Hugh borrows extensively from a number of sources to compile his chronology, but mainly depends upon Eusebius and Bede. What is significant, and where he departs from his sources, is his emphasis upon the Jewish biblical history.<sup>73</sup> Hugh notes a number of worldly kingdoms which appear in the Bible, or which occur in biblical times, and concludes with a parallel listing of popes and Roman emperors. There is a sense of proportion in Hugh's presentation, which weighs the names of the people of God before the incarnation with the names of those who came after the incarnation. This may in fact be his purpose in listing popes: they balance the biblical history.

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was indeed a textbook of universal history. Krüger identifies it as a "compendium of all knowledge" rather than either a chronology or a narrative, 21-22, although all three types of works can be identified with universal chronicles.

<sup>71</sup> "Sed nos hystoriam nunc in manibus habemus, quasi fundamentum omnis doctrinae primum in memoria collocandum." Green, *Chronicon*, 491.11-13.

<sup>72</sup> Green, *Chronicon*, 492-493, provides a complete listing of the folio numbers from Paris BN lat. 15009 along with his division of the tables. Item (3), Mortensen presents a critical list, 5 and 8-18. Item (6), Baron, "Hugues de Saint-Victor lexicographe," 139-145 presents a critical list. Item (7), "The Three Sisters;" occurs in only four manuscripts, according to Green, 493. Item (9), Mortensen offers a critical list, 5 and 19-30. Item (10), see Pertz, *Archiv* XI (1858) 307F, cited by Green, *Chronicon*, 493, FN 7. Item (11), Waitz presents a critical list, 88-97. Cf. items (2), (3), (6), (9) with Richard of St. Victor, *Liber exceptionum* I.III-I.X; Châtillon, 122-212; PLD 177.208D-284D.

<sup>73</sup> Hugh emphasizes the Jewish priesthood, for example, while Eusebius and Bede bury it within their accounts. *Eusebius Werke*, vol. 7, 104-187; PG 19.465-531; and for Bede, Mommsen, *Chronica*, 268-281; PLD 90.535B-545A.

He concludes Jewish history with the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem, dating it to the second year of the rule of Vespasian. Because he uses Eusebius' chronology, he misdates the year, making it 72 C.E., rather than 70 C.E. Unlike Eusebius, however, Hugh makes no comment about whether or not the Jews deserved this fate for their crucifixion of Jesus; he just observes its end.

The miscellaneous lists of Hebrew names are also noteworthy, and definitely unique to Hugh. Relying upon the bible, he notes genealogies of patriarchs, kings of Edom, the twelve tribes, twenty-four chiefs of the sanctuary, twenty-four singers in the temple, and others. In the section on Jewish names Hugh repeats the lists of high priests, Maccabees and Herods, which he itemized in the second table. The proper chronology of Jewish history just prior to the incarnation seems to be a major concern for Hugh in this work as well as in *De scripturis* and *De vanitate*.

Hugh's presentation of post-biblical Christian and secular history in the *Chronicon* is derivative and unoriginal. This is not his primary interest. As he states in the Prologue, the historical sense is the first level of interpretation of the Bible. Without a grounding in history, the bible can neither be read nor understood. By reiterating his theme of creation-restoration in the Prologue to the *Chronicon* and on the first pages of tables, Hugh reminds the reader that the *Chronicon* provides the details for understanding the history of restoration, that it, the bible. Fully half of the folios in manuscript from Boulogne-sur-Mer concentrate on biblical history, while over one-third in the Paris BN 15009 focus on it.

### Conclusions

Hugh's faithfulness to the Bible leads him to neglect the present.<sup>74</sup> He is thus a historian with little interest in what we would today call history. The sixth age begins with the most decisive event in history, and thus there really is no point in pursuing a discussion of history after the birth of Christ.<sup>75</sup> What become important are the means of restoration, that is, the sacraments. Hugh is nonetheless willing to take his chronology into the sixth age, even though this is not where his real attention lies.

It is probably better to identify Hugh as a biblical exegete, rather than a historian. His concern lay with the proper interpretation of the history of restoration. Scripture contained this history, and thus it was crucial to get

<sup>74</sup> Chenu notes that this is typical of medieval Christian theology, 83.

<sup>75</sup> As Mommsen notes, Augustine ends his historical account in the *City of God* precisely with the appearance of Christ, "St. Augustine," 297.

it right. The four successions, as well as the world empires, appear to be Hugh's attempt to correctly present the names, places, and times contained in the bible. After all, he begins the tables in the *Chronicon* by attributing them to the Hebrew truth, that is, the vulgate bible.<sup>76</sup>

Hugh's christocentric theology means that the history of the Jews is identical with the account of restoration contained in the Bible. He presents them in a positive light, downplaying the lapses in faithfulness, and highlighting the great and wondrous deeds. Even when he reaches New Testament times, Hugh does not criticize the Jews as a people, but rather singles out certain evil ones. He does not blame "the Jews" for the death of Christ.

In fact, the Jews are part of the family of Christ, or the army of Christ. In his revision of Augustine's two-city doctrine, Hugh makes righteous Jews and pagans part of a single people of God allied with Christians against the devil. The foot soldiers in the army of the king bear different arms and even different banners, but they are still united in a common purpose. Although Hugh makes it plain that only the Jews of the Bible are part of the army, it is nevertheless a striking metaphor, given the contemporary fact of a Christian-only army fighting under a single flag bearing the cross of Christ.

In his silence about contemporary Jews, as well as contemporary Christians, and in his praise of biblical Jews, is Hugh attempting to counter the anti-Jewish sentiment which is growing in his day? It cannot be answered with certainty, but the possibility exists that Hugh of St. Victor in a small way offered an alternative vision of Jewish and Christian relations in the Middle Ages. It was a vision which made the two faiths allies, rather than enemies.

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<sup>76</sup> "Restauratio secundum hebraicam veritatem," appears on the first page of tables in the *Chronicon*, see Green, *Chronicon*, plate 1, and other manuscripts. Hugh contrasts this with "restauratio secundum LXX," that is, the Septuagint, later in his tables.